FREE SOCIETY

ENTERED AT SAN FRANCISCO POSTOFFICE AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER.

An Exponent of Anarchist-Communism: Holding that Equality of Opportunity alone Constitutes Liberty; that in the Absence of Monopoly Price and Competition Cannot Exist; and that Communism is an Inevitable Consequence.

VOL. VI. NO. 44 SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1900. WHOLE NO. 284.

WOMAN AND WAR.

We women teach our little sons how wrong
And how ignoble blows are; school and church
Support our precepts, and inoculate
The growing minds with thoughts of love and peace.
"Let dogs delight to bark and bite," we say;
But human beings with immortal souls
Must rise above the methods of a brute,
And walk with reason and with self-control.

And then—dear God! you men, you wise, strong men,
Our self-announced superiors in brain,
Our peers in judgment, you go forth to war!
You leap at one another, mutilate
And starve and kill your fellow-men, and ask
The world's applause for such heroic deeds.
You boast and strut; and if no song is sung,
No laudatory epic writ in blood,
Telling how many widows you have made,
Why then, perforce, you say our bards are dead
And inspiration sleeps to wake no more.
And we, the women, we whose lives you are—

What can we do but sit in silent homes,
And wait and suffer? Not for us the blare
Of trumpets and the bugle's call to arms—
For us no waving banners, no supreme
Triumphant hour of conquest. Ours the slow
Dread torture of uncertainty, each day
The bootless battle with the same despair,
And when at best your victories reach our ears,
There reaches with them, to our pitying hearts,
The thought of countless homes made desolate,
And other women weeping for their dead.

O men, wise men, superior beings, say,
Is there no substitute for war in this
Great age and era! If you answer "No,"
Then let us rear our children to be wolves,
And teach them from the cradle how to kill.
Why should we women waste our time and words
In talking peace, when men declare for war?

—Ella Wheeler Wilcox

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AN OPEN LETTER.

To WHARTON BARKER.

Dear Sir,—Your recent article on Anarchists shows a disposition, rare among those who differ with them, to treat the subject fairly—consequently, a disposition to learn more about it. I infer that you will not be offended or repelled by being told that your present information concerning it is defective. You begin by assuming that there are two kinds of Anarchists, whom you call militant and non-militant. The latter are pretty good Anarchists—dreamers of "an exalted state": the former, "advocates of murder," and very naughty Anarchists. This distinction is no longer so rarely drawn as to be remarkable. It has been forced on all decently well read opponents of Anarchism by the fact, of which none save gross ignoramuses can be unaware, that such Anarchists as Tolstoi and Kropotkin are not by any means bad fellows. But the distinction is superficial. All Anarchists understand that government springs from war, and are unalterably opposed to war accordingly. There are indeed a few Anarchists, among whom Tolstoi is the best known, who go to the extreme length of saying that an individual is never justified in fighting, even though attacked; and there are also a few Anarchists, among whom Luccheni is the type, who without actually having the government bayonets at their own throat, have taken upon themselves to strike, in some prominent individual, the system which makes and the spirit which wills the bayonets. But both are extremely rare among Anarchists, for the obvious reason that they are extremely rare among men. Those who sincerely think they would let the government's minions kill them without resistance, or, not so thinking, affect to hold that the proper thing, are few, because this is contrary to human nature. Those who are willing to die for a demonstration are as few now as men like Scævola, Ravaillac, Jacques Clement, Balthazar Gerard, Booth, Guiteau, Prendergast, have always been—as few among modern Anarchists as among ancient Romans, among Catholics, Puritans, Democrats and Republicans. But all these aggregates had such men among them. Then why not Anarchists? And why distinguish as the two kinds of Anarchists two poles of sentiment, represented among Anarchists, as among every one else, only by a very few individuals? In which group would you put Kropotkin? He is no Quaker. His sympathy is hearty and active even with revolutionary movements which he by no means considers judicious. But through his character and genius, he has more than any one else extorted a degree of justice for Anarchists from the bourgeois press. And Kropotkin is the typical Anarchist—as nearly an authority whom the rest would bow to, as the nature of Anarchism allows a man to be. The truth is, the difference between militant and non-militant Anarchists is mainly a difference of situation.

The apparently inconsistent statements that Anarchists are opposed to war, and that they sympathize with all revolutionary movements, find their reconciliation in this, that governments generally have declared war against Anarchists and compelled them to regard as allies all who, however little in their fashion, are doing something against the governments. If by militant Anarchists you mean men like Bresci and Luccheni, you are emphatically right in saying that indiscriminate proscription is the way to recruit their ranks. Persecution has an attraction for such men. It also has a tendency to make them out of other men. To harbor them, has been the invariable characteristic of every persecuted political party and religious sect. If the Quakers could not be driven to fight, they could to do things equally obnoxious—such things as coming to church naked—throughout the times when they were persecuted. This was a display of the same spirit, occasioned by the same cause. Even the Quakers were far from harmless, so long as the authorities were foolish enough to presume them noxious. They became harmless, as those of every opinion do, at exactly the point of being tolerated.

The statement, I think, is also evolved from your inner consciousness, that Anarchists expect abolition of government to produce a "beatific state" where "all would be peace and harmony," and "all men without repression, but as their second nature, would regard the rights of others." Speaking for one Anarchist, I can pronounce it among the high recommendations of Anarchism to make no such extravagant pretensions. Socialism makes claims like this for itself; but Anarchism does not. Anarchism is not a humbug. It is not a patent pill designed to cure in twenty-four hours all the physiological, psychical, and moral perversity engendered by perhaps ten thousand centuries of cannibalism, slavery, war, landlordism, monopoly, taxation, prostitution, and marital bestiality. It proposes, not as the end, but the beginning of improvement, to abolish one colossal institution which, since its very essence is conservatism, has always been the perpetuator and renewer of these and other barbarisms. The method is deductive. The premises are demonstrated, in regard to religion by such men as Lord Baltimore, Locke, William the Silent; in regard to trade by Quesnay and Adam Smith; in regard to treatment of inferior races by Wilberforce and Clarkson; in regard to crime by Montesinos, Maconochie, Lombroso, Krafft-Ebing, Havelock Ellis; in regard to education by Rousseau, Froebel, Pestalozzi; in regard to land and other tenures by Dove, Quesnay, George, but above all Proudhon; in regard to capital by Marx. A typical leading Anarchist is a man with learning enough to grasp, and courage enough to apply all their results. He pronounces against "repression" in general; because in as good as all particulars, they have proved it to be mischievous. We will have another word on this point soon.

You say the way to stop the spread of Anarchism is to to "make government what it must be to be defensible, the protector of men in their rights." Then it is not so now? Surely that is a very large admission. And just as surely it is dreadfully true. Arise, ye shades of governors and governments! Pharoah building treasure cities; Moses sending the liberated people to exterminate Canaanites; Ahab, Senaccherib, Xerxes; Athenian democracy condemning Socrates, Roman democracy casting Manlius from the Tarpeian rock; Cæsar, Diocletian, Capet, James II, George III; McKinley buying Filipinos; Roosevelt proposing to sell them—ach! you gang of pirates! from first to last, which one among you, republican or king, ever was "what you must be to be defensible"? No doubt some were worse than others. Lincoln is probably as defensible as any. But, alas,

> "The evil which men do lives after them;
> The good is oft interred with their bones."

The pension list, debt, national bands, jingo, federal jurisprudence, violated autonomy, execrable political cants, false and vicious maxims, these are only a part of what we are suffering for the misdeeds of Lincoln, which are also his principal and celebrated deeds.

Since government never has been "defensible," upon your own principles, since you virtually admit Anarchy to be better than any government which ever existed—just as a cornered Christian will practically admit Infidelity, which he began by pronouncing the very spawn of hell, to be better than any form of Christianity except some unrealized ideal of his own—you must admit also that Anarchists have exceedingly strong grounds for doubting whether a just government can be "shown not an impossibility by making it a reality." Our method, I repeat, is inductive and experimental. Experience gives us no reason to hope for any such result. The *pons asinorum* of Anarchism is that people do not take the trouble to govern unless they expect government to be their "protector in trespassing on the rights of others, the grantor of special privileges, and the creator of a privileged class." Banish such hopes, and government will die of its own accord.

But, you say, "government is a necessary and beneficent instrument, seeing that all men are not perfect, that some will trample on the rights of others, if not kept under restraint." You must be sensible that there is a flavor of venerable antiquity about that argument. You cannot surely think the world contains an Anarchist who is not familiar with it. These things have been "shown"—videlicet, they have been said—ever since government existed, which was long before the dawn of history.

> "In the days of old Rameses.
> That story—had paresis."

That it should renew its youth to strangle doubt, which though never heard of until yesterday, has already become so general, is scarcely a thing to be expected.

I have mentioned Lombroso, Havelock Ellis, and the criminologists in general. These scientific students of the subject do not call themselves Anarchists. But they lay down the *major* and *minor* of Anarchism, however they may hem and haw about the conclusions. They divide criminals into classes. There is some, though not much difference, about the classification; but that which strikes me as most careful is the following:

1. Born Criminals and Criminaloids (very similar), including between them the "little monsters" like Jesse Pomeroy, also the incorrigibly worthless—a certain proportion of tramps and prostitutes. (The Jukes family is the classic instance.)

2. Habitual Criminals.

3. Occasional Criminals. These are much the most numerous. They can be reformed, which the inferior class cannot. They never become Habitual in the anthropological sense; but are often forced into vicious crimes by outlawry. Transportation quickly separates them from the Habituals. The latter renew their crimes under other skies—"*cælum non animum mutant;*"—the Occasionals turn over a new leaf as soon as they have an opportunity.

4. Impulsive Criminals — Guiteau, Prendergast. These never commit but one crime.

5. Collective Criminals—Rioters, conspirators, etc. These persons' crimes are not individual traits. They depend on an abnormal state of society.

(Continued on Page Three.)

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Anarchy.—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal: absolute individual liberty.—Century Dictionary

OUR LITERATURE.

The true propagandist is always well-posted. If we are to win others, we must be able to furnish reasons and facts in support of our position. It is not enough to be right; we must be able to show others how and why we are right. Otherwise our movement remains at a standstill, and becomes a mutual admiration society with a limited membership.

Every true Anarchist desires to extend the scope of the movement; but some do not know just how to go work. Few are public speakers; and many are not gifted with the pen. But personal propaganda, which is of incalculable value, is open to all. Every comrade can exert a personal influence on those around him, and create in his immediate vicinity a little centre of Anarchist thought. If he cannot make many converts, he can at least disarm prejudices, and show his friends and neighbors that Anarchism is at least a philosophy worthy of respectful consideration. This is not the trifle that it seems. A thousand such centres mean thousands of investigators, who, if not fully convinced, are at least sure never again to join the senseless clamor against Anarchy as a monstrous thing. Once set thinking, they will not stop half-way. Unrest is in the air. Men are everywhere seeking for something more satisfactory than the social philosophies of the past. There never was so opportune a time for seed sowing, as the present.

Now what is to be done? Every Anarchist needs to be well equipped. Our literature exists for this purpose. The social problem is complex and many-sided. Many matters have to be explained, many questions answered, many objections refuted, many misunderstandings cleared up. The books and pamphlets, which represent the best Anarchist thought, are designed to meet all these needs. They serve two distinct purposes. The first is, to supply our own comrades with information, which will enable them to defend their principles, and explain the Anarchist idea to their acquaintances and those whom they wish to reach. In the second place, our literature is designed for direct propagandistic use. Put into the hands of inquirers, it gives a clearer and more comprehensive view of Anarchist principles, than is to be gathered from casual conversation on the subject. The comrade who is able to reinforce his arguments by handing his friends some book or pamphlet that goes right to the point, will win ten, where another comrade would only set one man thinking.

What books or pamphlets will do the most good? It all depends on circumstances. One is useful for one purpose, one for another. It is well to have as large a variety as possible, and to be thoroughly familiar with their contents, that each may be utilized, just where it will be of the greatest advantage. Some suggestions, however, may be of service. The prices of the works referred to will be found in the Book-List, on the fourth page of this paper.

No one work can treat of the whole subject of Anarchism, in all its applications. The most complete outline is to be found in Jean Grave's excellent work, "Moribund Society and Anarchy." This, together with Malatesta's "Anarchy," Kropotkin's "Anarchism," "Expropriation," "Law and Authority," and "The State," and Bakunin's "God and the State," should be in the hands of every comrade, for his own sake, as well as for propaganda work. Kropotkin's "Revolutionary Studies," "Appeal to the Young," "Wage System," and "Anarchist Morality," Addis's "Essays on the Social Problem," Reclus's "Evolution and Revolution," Doyle's "Emancipation of Society from Government," Smith's "Direct Action vs. Legislation," and Nevill's "God and Government," are also of considerable value, and touch on special subjects with great clearness and force. Nevill's "Open Letter to W. J. Bryan" is of special use at the present time, and ought to be circulated in great quantities between now and election day.

For historical information, "The Chicago Martyrs," Kropotkin's "The State: Its Historic Role," and at least one of the histories of the Paris Commune, should be in the hands of every comrade.

On the sex question, we have Van Ornum's "Mating or Marrying, Which?" Crane's "Evolution of the Family," Walker's "What the Young need to know," and "Our Worship of Primitive Social Guesses," and the excellent writings of Moses and Lillian Harman. No question connected with the propaganda of freedom is more utterly misunderstood. Our comrades need these works, both for their own instruction, and for effective propaganda.

Other books and pamphlets of special value in our list are Wilson's "Life Without a Master," Kropotkin's "Appeal to the Young," Allen's "The New Hedonism," Walker's "Revival of Puritanism," and Waisbrooker's "The Temperance Folly."

On all works, it is possible to give special discounts, when ordered in quantities. Now is the time to lay special stress on the widest possible circulation of our literature. Take a hand, comrades!

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NOTES.

The attention of all friends of the movement in San Francisco is specially called to the ball this Saturday evening, Sept. 15, in Turk St. Temple, 117 Turk St. The success of this affair will mean much to the propaganda, which is seriously crippled, when financial support is lacking. Let all come, enjoy a good time, and help the movement along.

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In response to the request for information, a number of reports were sent in, showing the condition of the movement in different parts of the country. Nothing like complete or accurate data could be secured; but the general condition of the propaganda was well expressed by the reports received. The most important of these were sent to Paris, together with as full an account of the present status of the American propaganda as could be made up from all the facts on hand. This country will be represented in Paris by Comrades Emma Goldman, M. A. Cohn, and Mary Elwell, and perhaps by others.

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The Paterson comrades have sent us some enlarged portraits of Bresci the king-slayer, for the benefit of those who wish to see what manner of man it was who killed the Italian monarch. These portraits may be had from us at ten cents apiece.

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CURRENT NEWS.

Chicago continues to distinguish herself as a shining example of what "liberty" means in this country. The newest reported police outrage is the arrest of a young man for distributing Anarchist literature in a public park. The particular document was our leaflet, "Another Blow to Royalty." It is a strange kind of freedom, where a man can be arrested for merely handing a paper to his neighbor. What do you think of a government under which the individual is denied even the right to propagate his opinions? If the Chicago example is to be followed, there will be little to choose between America and Russia.

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The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals in San Francisco, like all of its kind, is very careful about whom it tackles. It has just had a young girl arrested, for killing rats by pouring boiling water on them. But it has nothing to say to the wealthy perverts who dock their horses' tails and torture them with high check reins. The shooting contests, in which hundreds of live birds are cruelly murdered for mere amusement, and coursing matches, in which numerous hares are slaughtered just for fun, and the other brutal and degrading sports of the "upper crust," are reported daily in the press, without so much as a whisper of protest from "the society with the long name." Yet this hypocritical organization, which punishes the poor, and lets the rich alone, has the insolence to boast of its good deeds, and to appeal to the public for support.

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San Francisco has as asinine a body of School Directors as can be found in any city of the land—not even barring Boston, where the School Board banished Allen and Greenough's Ovid from the schools, because the vulgar and prurient minds of its members found salacious suggestion in a beautiful picture of a sea-nymph. In San Francisco, the guardians of education constitute themselves special champions of ignorance. Ebenezer Knowlton, having common sense as well as well as pedagogic ability, gave his pupils some advice as to wearing rational clothing. It is also alleged that he "gave his girl pupils information that should have come to them only from their mothers' lips"—such mothers' as Mrs. Maggs, I suppose, who was greatly shocked to find that her daughter was not an ignorant fool like herself. Instead of being dismissed, Mr. Knowlton ought to be honored as the most sensible teacher in the city. The charge against him, and his consequent dismissal, mark the low and degraded condition of the minds of the School Board, and of our own general educational system. Parents who neglect their own duty should at least be thankful to a teacher who does his, instead of hounding him out, because he refuses to be a patron of vulgar and harmful ignorance.

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And now it is a Russo-American alliance in China. Appropriate league betwen the old despotism and the new imperialism.

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The difference between Filipino and American barbarities in the Philippine Islands is that the former spring from the natural and just rage of an outraged people, seeking to expel a greedy invader; while the latter is the wanton expression of civilized and Christian lust for the blood and territory of an "inferior" race.

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Roberts does not seem to be quite so much of an all-conquering hero as he was a few months ago.

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California is celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of her admission as a State. Among the significant acts of the celebration is the incarceration of a number of men and women who have committed no crime, simply because they were criminals once, for which they paid the full legal penalty. But what can be expected of a State where any poor man out of work may be locked up as a vagrant, and whose police, courts, and judges, are notoriously among the most corrupt in the land?

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DISCORDS.

"The colored people of America should revere the name of Collis Potter Huntington, and show their appreciation of what he has done for them in educational and other ways. The name should be linked with those of Washington, Lincoln, Fred Douglas, Charles Sumner, Lloyd Garrison, Thad Stevens, and Garfield," said the Rev. Tillman Brown, pastor of the Zion African M. E. Church, last evening. He spoke of the contributions of the dead financier to negro educational institutions in North Carolna, Virginia, Alabama, and other Southern States, and said the black man was not excluded from any position in the Southern Pacific Company. A colored man be added, who said one word against Huntington, should be placed in a lunatic asylum.—San Francisco Examiner.

This clerical prostitute knows who and what Huntington was. The millions of decent colored people in the country will give the lie to the infamous insinuation that they are to be bought and sold like cattle by any millionare criminal, who sees it for his interest to dispense a few charities in their direction. A man who would use the pulpit to exalt race feeling above justice, honor, and humanity, be he white or black, merits the most utter contempt from honest men and women of every race.

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The editor of Harper's Weekly is a serviceable hireling, who fully earns the wages of dishonor due to him who lies for gain. Basking securely in the smile of the wealth-possessors, he is ever ready to please his masters, by bitter and venemous assaults on the wealth producers of the land. In his issue of

August 11, are certain editorials into which so many direct and dastardly falsehoods are packed, that it would require columns to refute them in detail. Fortunately their very exaggeration is itself the best possible refutation, in the eyes of all save the grossly ignorant. This eulogizer of kings and hater of the common people cannot hurt the Anarchist propaganda. It is only in branding himself as a sycophant and a liar that he may be credited with achieving the most striking success.

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Taking for his theme "The Catholic Church and Modern Free Thought," the Rev. Joseph A. Sasia, S. J., in a lecture last night before a large audience in St. Mary's Cathedral, made an eloquent plea for a continuance of the faith o Catholicism in immortality, as against the independent thought of this new rival, which he termed an enemy of religion, parading under the guise of modern progress, modern civilization and an advocate and champion of beliefs dramatically opposed to the Church.

The lecture was for the benefit of the Sisters of the Holy Family, and the Day Home. The speaker delved deeply into the persecution of the martyrs of Nero's time, when the stree s ran with blood; when the Church was harassed by Luther and Calvin; pictured the failure of the attacks of Voltaire, Tom Paine and of Ingersoll; and in brilliant peroration, arraigning what he termed the flimsy texture of free thought, declared that it soon passed to liberty of action; the absolute independence of the human mind, the negation of virtue and the reign of vice and Anarchy. In politics it led to Socialism—in morals to sensualism.

To save people from the ruin of infidelity, he said the Catholic Church never shrank from attack, and never would. Free thought, he said in conclusion, was in flagrant contradiction to the very essence of Christianity, sound reason and common sense.—San Francisco Examiner.

There you have it! However smothered in rhetoric it may be, the one fact that stands out plainly is the bitter hatred of the Church for all that savors of freedom. Taking its stand on a self assumed authority, it is compelled to wage an incessant warfare against the spirit of progress, and all that savors of human independence. It is well for mankind that the reign of the Church is over, and that even its continued existence is menaced by the growing intelligence of the race.

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Ambrose Bierce has broken out again. This time, he is good enough to inform us that the rich do not hate the poor. This lifts a great weight from our minds. We are quite content to be robbed and starved; but to be hated as well would be too cruel. Ambrose is undoubtedly right. The rich hate nobody except the "demagogues," which, being interpreted, signifies those who have the insolence to protest against being robbed. It is also a fact that burglars rarely hate their victims. They simply proceed according to business methods; and only "demagogues," who are envious of their success, have any fault to find.

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The Examiner, like every citizen, will be compelled to submit to any nomination that may be made by the conventions, which hardly represent the best elements of either party, but in many cases represent the people with the greatest skill as ballot-box stuffers.—San Francisco Examiner.

Such candid confessions are as rare as they are charming. The fact that they are strictly true will not in the least hinder millions of citizens from running wild with enthusiasm over the candidates selected for them by these same ballot-box stuffers. Only a few of the more intelligent will stay at home from the polls, and allow the political farce to be played by other actors.

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AN OPEN LETTER.

(Concluded from Page One.)

6. Criminal Geniuses — Usurpers, tyrants, false prophets; the great enslavers, deceivers, and destroyers of mankind.

Now criminologists are unanimous in saying that "restraint" is worse than useless when applied to Collective Criminals, Impulsive, Occasional, or the great majority among the Born. It is certainly necessary for a few of the most dangerous among the latter. But no government is necessary to apply it. All mankind agree on the need of taking care of a Jesse Pomeroy. It is in the idea of government that all do not agree on the expediency of its methods—that a king, or a majority, controls the rest of us. Moreover, the government's methods of restraint are all wrong. It is not a prison, but a ward in the asylum (a small one would be large enough) which should receive the Jesse Pomeroys. A government which could restrain the Criminal Geniuses, would indeed be a big thing. But that is clearly impossible. It is they who make the governments. Without their pernicious activity, there could be none. Anarchism alone can effectually restrain them. For Habitual Criminals—thieves, etc., who are such, not because they have no other way to live, but because it suits their instincts.—the restraint of imprisonment might seem at first glance prescribable. But the truth is, this restraint principally makes them. Imprisonment and the fear of it are what render Occasionals indistinguishable from Habituals. The true Ha ituals are few. Most thieves are such, because the receiver, who is the employing capitalist of their trade, can send them to prison any day, unless they go on serving him. (All this aside from the conditions of poverty and monopoly which so foster crime.) A prison is a school of crime. A reformatory is a mischievous institution. Penology is a nugatory art—an art of making figs grow on thistles. Its one good effect has been to show that cruel punishments, like death and torture, are still more mischievous than imprisonment. Criminology, which has superseded it, finds no excuse for the governmental machinery of prisons, jailors, policemen, soldiers, judges, juries, executioners. These are like our ancestor's sword and pistols—like the revolver some cowards still think necessary to carry. They are appliances of barbarism, at once ruffianly and timid, which will be discarded, not when a few miserable degenerates learn better than to "trample on the rights of others"—what big words for the pettiest of things!—but when the rest of us learn, as we are learning very fast, that we are safer without such protection than with.

If it be a-ked why mankind have so long believed in government; it might be answer enough that they always were till lately, and most of them still are, ignorant. But the true reply cuts deeper. Government worship is a superstition. Criminology has brought out this truth, among many others, that there exists a propensity to admire criminals; which varies with two determinants—the admirer's own backwardness and the criminal's ability. The criminal genius is still an object of enthusiasm to most people. By promising to protect them against all abuse but his own, he secures their ready allegiance. To inquire whether he is not far more costly and dangerous than the tramps whom he proposes to "restrain," is a trait of modern intelligence.

Because men can always be found in every stage of intellectual evolution, all superstitions are immortal, and government will doubtless always have its advocates. But superstitions, once called in question, soon lose the respect of the intelligent class; and after that are pretty harmless. The government superstition has almost lost that respect already. In another thirty years, it will be, like the belief in witchcraft, an object of general ridicule. Our children will have difficulty in believing that we could think a McKinley a desirable protector against a tramp. Government is fighting now for life with exactly the same weapons as serv d every superstition in a similar strait, and against those weapons which overthrew its predecessors. It pretends to fear the bullets of the Anarchists; but it is infinitely more afraid of their pens and tongues. The petroleum of knowledge, the nitro-glycerine of ideas, are what it dreads; as proved by its refusal to tolerate Anarchistic publicattions, even as news of Anarchists' defences in court. Your attempt to teach it wisdom will fail, because in its own trade it is wiser than you. Persecution makes Anarchism dangerous to individual kings and statesmen; but toleration would make it more quickly fatal to all they represent; and they understand this very well. C. L. James.

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A LAW MANUFACTURER.

Senator Chauncey Depew, in a speech in the Philadelphia Republican convention, said:

What is the tendency of the future? Why this war in South Africa? Why this hammering at the gates of Peking? Why this marching of troops from Asia to Africa? Why these parades of people from other empires and other lands?

It is because the surplus productions of the civilized countries of modern times are greater than civilization can consume. It is because this over production goes back to stagnation and poverty.

The American people now produce two thousand million dollars worth more than they can consume, and we have met the emergency, and, by the providence of God, by the statesmanship of William McKinley, and by the valor of Roosevelt and his associates, we have our market in Cuba, we have our market in Porto Rico, we have our market in Hawaii, we have our market in the Philippines, and we stand in the presence of 800,000,000 of people with the Pacific as an American lake and the American artisan producing better and cheaper goods than any country in the world, and, my friends, we go to American labor and to the American farm and say that, with McKinley for another four years, there is no congestion for America.

A Senator forsooth! such are the cultivated liars who govern the voting fools, whose glory it is to be ruled by overfed and overpaid asses, who prate about overproduction; so long as anyone is in need, there cannot be overproduction—it is the distribution that is out of order. Is it your idea of nobility, or even ordinary manliness, Chauncey, to take the best of Labor's productions, large quantities of them, and in return give them the only stuff you produce—lies and laws—both for the sole purpose of robbing Labor?

Read this again: "It is because the surplus products of the civilized countries of modern times are greater than civilization can consume." You lie, Depew! and you know you lie—or you do not know the meaning of civilization. We have no civilization now; nor can we, so long as brutes like you, Rockefeller, Hanna, McKinley and that ilk make inhuman wars and laws against humanity.

"The American people now produce $2,000,000,000 more than they can consume,"—Chauncey, you lie!—"and we have met the emergency, and by the providence of God," etc. "The providence of God" is a part of the stock-in-trade of that worst of all classes—hypocritical thieves, be they ministers of the Church or the State.

Stolen Cuba is smaller in area than Kansas, and costs $12,000,000 a year to govern, against $1,000,000 for Kansas; Porto Rico is 54 miles by 32 miles, and absorbs more in official salaries than any two of our larger States; the preparations to govern the Filipinos runs up into millions a year, in addition to $700,000 a day for the army and navy. Will the natives of these islands consume one dollar's worth of American goods per capita, per annum? No, they will not; but any three of our own States would consume the two billion dollar's worth of goods, if they were not robbed of their powers to consume, and still ask for more. See, Senator! "The statesmanship of McKinley"—bankrupt before Hanna made him President—and "the providence of God," are both unknown quantities, used by Depew to uphold the superstition of God and government, who in return feed the parasites on the life-blood of Labor.

"It is because the surplus production goes back to stagnation and poverty"; this is crass stupidity. Senator Depew knows well enough that the fact is, the under consumption causes the stagnation and poverty. Study the following little bit of recent English history: In the manufacturing districts of the North of England, Lancashire and Yorkshire, seventy-five per cent of the men who volunteered for the brutal war of the capitalists against the Boers, to steal their rich gold and diamond mines, had to be rejected on account of physical defects, the result of being robbed of their powers to consume. One hundred per cent of the American senators would be rejected under an examination as to humanizing or civilizing abilities.

And still there are men who believe in the ballot!! Alas, alas! when will they learn what it really means? Brown and his half-witted son of twenty-one are duly authorized to force Smith to act out their whims; two weaklings far inferior to Smith in every way, to dominate him. Can this ever be called freedom? A minority of sense and manliness to govern a nation!

Kinghorn-Jones.

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In New York.

Comrade M. Maisei, 170 Henry St., has a very important plan for the purpose of raising money for Free Society. He would like at once to hear from other New York comrades, who can help him in carrying it out.

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In San Francisco.

A social and ball will be held in Turk St. Temple, 117 Turk St., Saturday, Sept. 15, at 8 P. M., the proceeds to be devoted to the revolutionary propaganda. All friends of liberty and fraternity are cordially invited. Admission 25 cents. Ladies admitted free.

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The number printed on the wrapper of your paper shows that your subscription has been paid up to that number.

TYRANNY WILL NOT STOP ASSASSINATION.

Editor Evening Journal,—It would appear that the governments of the earth cannot learn. If Italy has sentenced her king-killer to life imprisonment, the first years to be passed in solitary confinement, in a pitch-dark cell, little larger than a coffin, and without seeing or hearing a human being, we shall forget our disapprobation of his wild deed in our revolt against the vengeful, inhuman treatment of the assassin. Governments that can resort to such cruelties do not deserve to exist. Nothing can justify king-killing, but no sensible person can feel very sorry when a king capable of such cruel and silly revenge is killed.

The punishment of Bresci, if it is as reported, will raise up more hunters of monarchs. You cannot stop assassinations by tyranny. If juries, judges, heads of affairs—intelligent, honorable Christian men—are capable of sending a fellow mortal to a life of excruciating torture, is it surprising that ignorant, hot-headed, non-respectable wage slaves should kill a king now and then?

The way to stop assassinations is to use government for the happiness of the people instead of for their undoing, and for the enrichment of a few.

The only reason I ever heard why the late King of Italy should have continued to exist, was that he was charitable. But it is not the business of government to give alms- What the people need is not alms, but opportunity.

The assassination of kings, no doubt, is terrible and useless, but I suspect it will go on until kings justify their existence more clearly than they have been able to do so far. There is always an axe ready for the fruitless or rotten tree. It is quite unreasonable, to be sure, to kill a king so long as another king takes the dead one's place. But men do unreasonable things. For example, it is entirely senseless and unreasonable to send Bresci to solitary confinement. The man will be a maniac in a few months.—Hugh O. Pentecost, in N. Y. Journal.

CHORDS.

Christianity, like familiarity, must breed contempt in the heathen mind when its doctrines are expounded in the startling fashion adopted by Wilhelm II. of Germany, says the Topical Times. That "Christian" monarch's exhortation to the soldiers leaving for China, "to give no quarter and make no prisoners," is sufficient to characterise him as a raving maniac, quite unfit to govern a civilized people, or as a ruler whose intemperance, violence, and inhuman wrath place him on a level with the most bloodthirsty tyrant of ancient history. To quote his words again, "to give no quarter and make no prisoners," means that women, children, and feeble old men are ruthlessly massacred! Truly can this potentate say:—

> The King-becoming graces—
> As justice, verity, temperance, stableness,
> Bounty, perseverance, mercy, lovelines,
> Devotion, patience, courage, fortitude—
> I have no relish for them.

Dr. Maurice Busch, in his Memoirs of Bismarck, states that the Iron Chancellor during the Franco-German war, strongly objected to the soldiers taking prisoners: he had a tigerish thirst for blood. Wilhelm II. has shown himself a very apt pupil of Prince Bismarck, even though he did not demonstrate himself a grateful one.—London Freethinker.

Does the Tail of the Ticket Wag the Head?

No; that is a mistake.

The Tail of the Ticket would Wag the Head, for the Head is solemn and weak and the Tail is very Energetic, besides being a great WAG.

But the Head is firmly held between the Knees of Mark Hanna, who will hold it steady and see that it does not WAG.

What a Wise Arrangement!—Justice.

The average American citizen discovers to his horror that a trust can no more be demolished by legislation than a Cunarder by a volley of goose feathers; he hears the Standard Oil trust tell the Ohio Legislature to shut up; to mind its own business; and finds to his amazement that the legislature is very likely to obey.—Herbert N. Casson.

"Who shall drive the people into freedom?" They are slaves and believe themselves sovereign. They are ruled and believe themselves rulers. They are oppressed and believe themselves free. And when they grow weary of being subjects under one sovereign, they hunt up another and say unto him, "Come thou and reign over us" And when they have placed the sword in his hand and his foot on their necks, they look up from the dust and say, "Behold how free we are!"—National New Era.

It is rather curious to hear the man out of a job declaring that "we" must hold the Philippines.—Workers' Call.

The kings and other rulers who complain so bitterly of king killing have really their own past records and present crimes to thank for what happens.—Hearst's Chicago American.

SARCASTIC REMARKS.

The king is dead! Long live the king. King Humbert "did unto others, as others did unto him." During this unsettled state of the Italian government, the Pope may safely transfer his outfit to this glorious American republic.

The following inducements are very tempting. American philanthropists pay much more money out of their private coffers to the private coffers of the church, than in other countries. The Republican Party is very friendly with the church, and does all things in the Philippines and in China, in the name of 'Christianity."

* * *

I have lately noticed that two religious papers of different religious beliefs, claim that the McKinley family were and are followers of "our" church. McKinley being a wise man has joined the combined church forces, in the movement of "saving poor souls." Thus he satisfies all religious sects.

* * *

How friendly Capital is to Labor? McKinley is a member of most of the Trades Unions. This friendship having lately been proven in Idaho. Hanna, not because he loves McKinley less, nor Bryan more, but because he loves the "Dollar", is making speeches for the "laboring man" only.

* * *

The factory is being closed, to give the laborers a well earned vacation. A vacation without pay, but with what?

— — —

The "causes" and "results" are closely connected. In New Jersey, there is a conglomeration of Anarchists, capitalists, trusts, trusts-makers, political ring-masters, etc. S. MINTZ.

The Letter-Box.

A. McD., Wolf Creek, Mont—Yes, we believe race prejudice and internationalism to be in eternal hostility. When decently treated, the Chinese and Japanese are no more "undesirable" than any class of immigrants. As to the labor question, it will never be solved by restricting immigration. Drive out the Asiatics; and the same logic will then apply to Italian, Bohemian, Hungarian, and Polish laborers—later to all immigrants—then to our own surplus workers. It is capitalism, and not immigration, that is the real curse.

J. C., Spring Valley.—Pamphlets sent. Thanks for good wishes. The report came all right.

J. B., Hytop, Ala.—Many thanks for enclosure and kind words. We welcome all forms of co-operation, but do not find the use of authority of any service in destroying authority. When the absence of restraint includes also the absence of motive for vicious deeds, it will require neither gods, governments, nor devils, to teach men to follow their own interests, which run parallel with the interests of their fellows.

J. A. W., Amesbury, Mass.—Money for leaflets received. I think to be an Anarchist means to be humane. Greeting.

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